

(p. 134). I have never seen it in stencilled pieces which are complete in themselves and not forming a sheet (*ngatu*). In these single pieces is usually a border, inside which are patterns longitudinally from end to end or disposed in checks; there is usually a fringe of red hatching called *vakale-wenimbisi* (like the flesh of a *mbisi*).

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The style I have described is that of Lakemba; it is short, whereas in Thakaundrove and Matuku "it is made long." In effect the whole work in Lakemba is done by laying short stencils one beside the other, whereas in Thakaundrove long lines are painted.

In Lakemba stencilling is almost, if not entirely, confined to Wathiwathi. All my specimens come from there, except one from Ono, and all my information comes from those two places. In Tumbou a few know how to stencil, but they do it only on large sheets in Fijian style, not on single pieces.

In Tumbou the work is almost entirely in the Tongan style, on large sheets made up of many pieces and covered with red brown designs produced by rubbing. These sheets are called *ngatu* and are used for such things as blankets, dancing dresses, screens.

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Formerly if a woman wanted to paint bark cloth (*kesakesa*) her friends would without invitation come to help her. A feast would be made for them, each one getting a basket of food. Now they have guilds called *kauta* (from the Tongan *kautaha*, or else *kampani*, company) and each guild has a workshop. At present there are two in Tumbou: the Big Company (*kampani levu*) or Nandawa in Tai, Muritu, or the Second, in Tumbou quarter; one in Levuka. Formerly there was a third one, called Torotoromalua, in Tumbou. The guilds are called together by the beating of a hide drum, and hold councils to discuss the work, for instance to make a sheet for the child of one of the members, another time for another member. They have a president, a secretary, and sundry officials. The Native Gazette states (11, p. 136, 1905):

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The President will say, "Tomorrow let all the members of the guild beat out bark cloth to the number of ten or twenty score." Before dawn the sound of the drum is heard and each one strives to achieve the amount set by their President. On the evening of that day the drum is again beaten to summon them to their President, and they are asked if they have each completed the allotted task or not. After that the President again decides what shall be done on the morrow whether to cut copra, make sheets, or any other work. The money they earn from time to time by cutting copra is not divided up; it is brought and placed in the public chest (*kato ni tu*) to be kept. When the President sees there is enough bark cloth beaten out, she decides thus, "Tomorrow let us make a sheet for Lady So-and-so." In this way the Lady So-and-so is not in the least burdened with a workers' feast (*otho*). The workers' feast is entirely in the hands of the President. They will be fed out of the company's funds kept in the public chest. The Secretary will withdraw the amount of money

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required for the beef, tins of biscuits, sugar, tobacco, kava, and other things for their use.

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In the workshop there is a large convex board on which the patterns (*kupeti*) are made as follows:

String made of *veu* is wound round the end of a strip of mangrove; another strip is placed next to the first and the string wound once round, and so on; then the string is wound again round each strip but lower down, and so on until a kind of grating is made on which screwpine leaves are fixed, the result being a kind of card (*i vaka mata*). The designs are made by laying bits of *ekels*¹⁹ on the card according to the desired figure and sewing them on with coconut fiber, the whole is then smeared with the dye (*kesa*) used for bark cloth; this acts as a glue. The designs are generally called birds, or animals (*manumanu*). Whereas stencils are geometrical, these plates are naturalistic.

In addition to those illustrated in figure 11, the following names of applique patterns for tapa were obtained from Mbau: centipede, pipi fruit, *sesea* fruit, *kusi*, a bird; and from Tonga bats hanging from a tree.

Each worker brings her own pieces of bark cloth. The women sit on either side of the board provided with pots of raw dye, and with boiled manioc for glue. Two elderly ladies (*marama ndina*) are appointed to deal out the pieces to the workers; their title is *vakatantutu*.

First they lay a long broad piece of bark cloth along the board, on which no rubbings are made, but lines are carefully drawn across it at intervals; this piece is called *tapa mua*, front border. A second piece is stuck alongside the first with manioc; the women dip their pads of bark cloth into the raw dye and take a rubbing on this piece; but not at the ends, which are merely marked with a number; these ends are called *tapa*. This second piece is then smeared with manioc and short pieces are laid across it along the whole of its length and rubbed. Then the longitudinal piece is shifted and another piece is laid on the board overlapping; it is rubbed, and smeared with manioc; the transverse pieces are stuck down upon it and rubbed; and so it goes on, each new long piece being numbered at the end. The long pieces are called *laulalo* (Tongan, the leaf below), and the transverse ones *laulunga* (the leaf above). It is the task of the dealers to sort out the leaves properly. A patch is called *i mono*, a Tongan word for which the Lauan is *i potani*.

The work proceeds gaily and noisily, the workers chatting away. Sometimes they will strike up snatches of Tongan dances. Kava is made and served at intervals. Now tea has replaced the *hoho* pudding which formerly was provided.

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The work is measured thus: the length of the board is one *lalanga*; each *lalanga* therefore repeats the whole set of design; ten *lalanga* forms one *lau*; ten *lau*, one *lautefui*—all Tongan words.

On the next day, if the weather is fine, the sheets are put out to dry. One or two women draw black lines across with boiled dye to mark off the *lalanga*; the dye is laid on with *ekels*. Here and there dark brown discs (*tukisea*) are painted with boiled dye. The sheet must on no account get wet.

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Besides Tongan drapery (*ngatu vakatonga*) there is a Fijian drapery (*ngatu vakaviti*) also called *ngatu tasinga*, which may roughly be described

¹⁹ Ribs of coconut leaves.

INCARNATIONS

- 424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

- 462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

MEN	WOMEN
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

- 462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
476 its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
602 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

- 805 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons overlap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ongea than on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matua ni vuata*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndawa*, *vala*, mango, *nggalaka*, and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons,

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle products formerly provided the staple food. According to informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

- 476 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists
614 while working for a high chief, and the products of their
labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food
for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of
the economic life. The work of production is classified
according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such
as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin
of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are
netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisher-
man. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and con-
sumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food
by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount.
The women and children do not eat until they have served
the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according
to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted
in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the
part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the
back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the
portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best
of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an
offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing
expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented
to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe
[177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly
modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on
islands like Kambara where native political officials have
gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is
431 fundamentally different from the western competitive capi-
talistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through
the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution.
Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from
western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity
in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can
be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however,
serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance
imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be
compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the
economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose
gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
● 476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal
and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party
seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material
loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not
permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in
order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the
far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long
run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted
individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not
only because of his small bones and relatively short stature
but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such
as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the
natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[648] the missionaries, has been severely censured. Since his father
was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and
no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the
clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but
the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

177 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners.
241 More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other
plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not
greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the
177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men
276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed
as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes
wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for
a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the
great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands.
Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is
dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before
smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be
hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they
are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor-
[718] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I
came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to
dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco prob-
lem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for
him.

621 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by
177 the concentration of the population in coast villages. This
476 separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a
journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest
the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter
the basic economic unit, which remained the household or
the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than
heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such
as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have
797 had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observa-
805 tion of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic
life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the
colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly
schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing